NATIONAL GUARDIAN
10 cents
the progressive newsweekly
Vol. 8, No. 45 NEW YORK, N. Y., AUGUST 27, 1956

Harold Stassen? He's under here someplace

WHAT LAMONT DECISION MEANS

Court rules Joe, Brownell operated outside the law

THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE on Aug. 14 lost another crucial round in its tireless attempts to punish victims of Joe McCarthy's heyday. Corliss Lamont, attorney Abraham Unger and former government employe Albert Shadowitz were upheld in a unanimous U.S. Court of Appeals ruling that the McCarthy investigating committee had no authority to conduct its witch-hunting forays.

The opinion declared that "as a matter of law it is clear that the excursions of this Senate subcommittee . . . , when extended into the field of alleged subversive activities of non-governmental persons was entirely unauthorized."

Lamont in September, 1953, had challenged McCarthy's right to question him about an Army indoctrination course which contained material from a book by Lamont on Russia, and refused to answer questions under the privilege of the First Amendment. The other two invoked the First Amendment during hearings in December of that year; Shadowitz announced that he was defying the committee on the personal advice of the late Albert Einstein.

NO AUTHORITY CITED: In January, 1954, McCarthy moved for contempt citations against the three and in November of that year the case was argued before Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld in New York. On July 27, 1955, he dismissed the indictments against all three on the grounds that the government had not cited any authority for the McCarthy probes.

Sen. Karl Mundt (R-S.D.), a member of the McCarthy subcommittee, promptly wrote to Atty. Gen. Brownell urging him to assign his department's "best talent" to draw up new indictments to conform to Judge Weinfeld's ruling. He wrote that he was alarmed that if the Weinfeld decision stood, all the contempt proceedings arising from the McCarthy probes might fall.

UNSUPPORTED BY LAW: Apparently Brownell's best talents couldn't improve on the original indictments for none were drawn and in September the Justice Dept. moved to appeal Judge Weinfeld's decision. The case was argued on June 6 this year and the present Appeals Court ruling goes considerably beyond the Weinfeld decision. The opinion says:

"There is no allegation in the indictments here linking the inquiry conducted by the subcommittee to the grant of Authority dispensed to its parent committee. In fact, on its face and taking judicial notice, as we must, of this pertinent legislation, the inference must be just the opposite.

"We have then the anomalous situation that the Government is now attempting to hang onto and retain for trial indictments for offenses which it cannot support in law."

Plainly stated, both McCarthy and Brownell operated outside the law.

Lamont, now in Aspen, Colo., commented on the ruling:

"This decision marks another important victory for civil rights in America. It is much more a triumph for the Bill of Rights than a triumph for myself."

IN THIS ISSUE

CEDRIC BELFRAGE
The Baltic states ..... *p. 5*

TABITHA PETRAN
Soviet farming ..... *p. 4*

Herblock in Washington Post

"GEE—EVERYTHING EXCEPT GUTS"

POLITICS

Democrats a washout on civil rights; New Deal interred

By Elmer Bendiner

LATE IN THE evening of August 15 a delegate took the microphone at a caucus of Californians in a chamber off the main hall of the International Amphitheatre in Chicago. He asked pointedly: "Do you believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man or don't you?"

Stephen Mitchell, former Democratic national chairman, charged with the mission of keeping the South solid for Stevenson, tried to put out the fire. Richard Richards, running for Senator from California, answered with a call for a floor-fight all the way on civil rights and the Californians went back to the convention floor in one of the few blazes of honest fervor seen last week in Chicago.

AVE'S TRUMP: On the floor bands had been playing to pass the time while the party's leaders sought ways to keep the burning issue of jimcrow within the bounds of the political football field.

Against Adlai Stevenson, Averell Harriman had one trump left to play: His strategy was to assault Stevenson from the left, force him off the fence on the civil rights question, throw the convention into a deadlock and then hope for the best. The Stevenson forces had prepared a counter-maneuver. In the 108-member Resolutions Committee they made no vigorous objections to a watery all-purpose resolution that would not repel votes from any quarter except those who took most seriously the fight against segregation.

It did little more than belatedly report the news that the Supreme Court desegregation decision was the "law of the land" and had brought "consequences of vast importance" to the nation. The only commitment was a pledge to use no force to interfere with the courts— which could justify a total hands-off should local courts put the matter on ice.

THE BUILD-UP: After the committee had drafted the resolution, apparently without opposition, the Stevenson forces took the ball from Harriman by leading the opposition. It seemed to some they led it up the garden path. Walter Reuther, Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois and Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan arranged a battle staged with less regard for appearances than the average professional wrestling match.

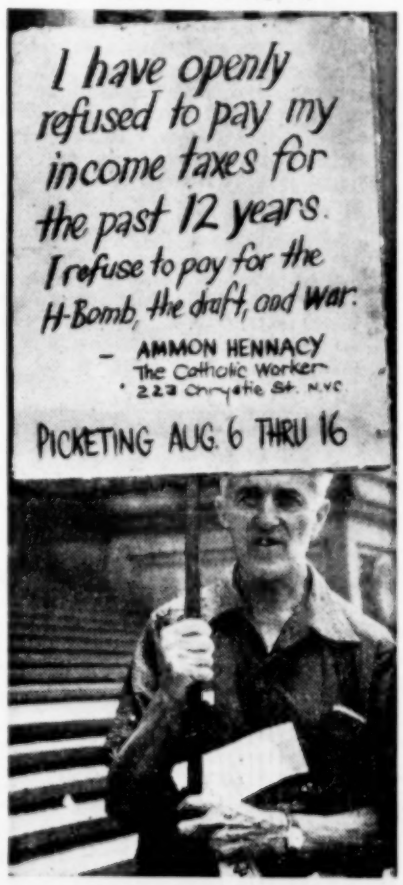
The audience was first exhausted by the droning of every other plank in the wordy platform. It was close to two a.m. Thursday morning when Resolution Committee Chairman John W. McCormack of Mass. read the civil rights plank. He allowed ten minutes for discussion of a minority resolution, 20 minutes for support of the feeble majority plank.

Delegate E. Robert Short of Minnesota read the proposed amendment which added a pledge to carry out the Supreme Court decision and repeated the fair employment sections of the 1952 plank.

THE LET-DOWN: Sen. Douglas and Gov. Williams had been seen all evening writing their speeches for the great debate. When their hour came they brushed it off. Douglas took considerably less than the two minutes allotted him, murmuring something indecisive about a roll-call. Gov. Williams was mild and perfunctory, terming the plank "somewhat below our ideal." Only Sen. Lehman of New York and Richards of California spoke with conviction. Lehman said: "I feel this issue more keenly than any other issue" and called segregation "absolutely intolerable." Richards said: "We can strangle to death in our own rationalizations with a weak resolution."

Then came the spokesmen for the soft plank. The only California delegate

(Continued on Page 6)


I have openly refused to pay my income taxes for the past 12 years. I refuse to pay for the H-Bomb, the draft, and war.
– AMMON HENNACY
The Catholic Worker
223 Chrystie St. N.Y.C.
PICKETING AUG. 6 THRU 16

Resister

Ammon Hennacy on the last day of his 11-day fast: one for each year since Hiroshima. The Catholic anarchist, war resister, tax resister and farm laborer spent the 11 days picketing the U.S. Customs House in New York in his annual "protest and atonement." He reports that this year, for the first time, he was neither arrested nor threatened.

"MUST" MEMO TO GUARDIAN

☐ Here's a quick $..... for the GUARDIAN's immediate need.

☐ I'll try to fulfill a "Buck of the Month" pledge. Send me monthly reminders to send you $..... a month when possible. I understand this will cover my renewal.

☐ If my sub or pledge is in arrears, apply the above to bringing it up to date.

Please check address-plate on the other side of this coupon or on your paper's wrapper for errors before enclosing with remittance. Mail to

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9,, N. Y.

Aspen, eggheads & us

ASPEN, COLO. — "Gosh, it's just a long struggle and a harsh one for you who man the radical vehicles! I keep wondering what element there is in the character of men which makes them go in for daring exploits.

"Here last week a mountain climber dropped precipitously while climbing a 14,000-foot mountain and 28 men went to his rescue at great risk.

"So, why the radical-progressive movement lets you struggle as you do is something I find hard to understand. I know what birth pains are—maybe your pains are hard because you're trying to bring a new kind of world to birth, and gosh, we need it.

"I'm enclosing a check for $10. It's a drop in the proverbial bucket but it's all I can send now.

"Here's a story somewhat to the point that I found in the Denver **Post.** The headline says:

CHICKENS SELECTED TO WORK FOR CHURCH

"The story tells how farmers in a Holland village responded to an appeal for funds to restore the local church.

"Each farmer promised to nominate one hen to work exclusively for the church—all eggs to be given to the authorities to sell to raise money for the restoration work.

"What better work for hens? And the eggheads—why don't you put them to work?"

And your correspondent closes by saying: "You would enjoy Aspen if you could put your worries aside for a while."

OUR WORRIES can't be put aside, though Aspens beckon and the hens of Holland take up the eggheads' burden. While our burdens have been lightened somewhat by the responses thus far to our appeals of the last two weeks, we are far from free of them.

We pointed out many weeks back, before we were forced to make a public appeal, that lagging "Buck of the Month" pledges alone had reduced our promised monthly income by upwards of $1,800. This situation has not improved over the summer.

Also, far too many renewals are in arrears, despite first and second notices. The postage on renewal mailings alone keeps our postal meter as bare as Mother Hubbard's cupboard. And only your prompt answer can mend this situation.

OF COURSE, NOT EVERYBODY is behind on pledges and renewals. You may be in excellent standing on both scores, but you might be able to spare an emergency contribution anyway. Or maybe you're not a "Buck of the Month" pledger, and therefore are not in arrears. Well, maybe it's time to mend that situation, too. Why not sign the Pledge above, and you, too, can get in arrears and take these plaints to heart.

Seriously, we have by no means heard from everybody we ought to hear from when the wolf is at the door. You have a GUARDIAN business-reply envelope somewhere around the house, it's a sure bet. Use it today, even if it has our old address; we'll get it even if you don't remember to change the address to 197 E. 4th St.

It can still wind up a delightful summer—even if we can't get away to Aspen—if we can just get a reply from YOU.

—THE GUARDIAN

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. First class and air mail on request. By airmail to United Kingdom (other countries, add postage beyond Britain): £2 a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-Exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Executive Editor*

ELMER BENDINER, Politics and The Americas, TABITHA PETRAN, World Analysis. LAWRENCE EMERY, National Affairs. EUGENE GORDON, Negro Affairs and Civil Liberties. KUMAR GOSHAL, World Affairs. ROBERT JOYCE, Art Editor. ROBERT E. LIGHT, Advertising and Buying Service. GEORGE EVANS, Promotion and Circulation. THEODORA PECK, Guardian Events. TIBA G. WILLNER, Los Angeles representative. MALVINA REYNOLDS, 1199 Spruce St., Berkeley. LAndscape 4-4289, San Francisco-Bay Area representative.

Vol. 8, No. 45 . 401 August 27, 1956

THE MAIL BAG

Dozens of books

CHICAGO, ILL.

Helen Waterhouse, the Chicago **Daily News** correspondent in the U.S.S.R., reports as follows:

There are no "sexy novels in the Soviet Union... These would be forbidden. There are no war-like toys in children's stores either. You never see a Soviet child with a toy gun. A law has recently been passed that anyone caught mentioning war as a possibility will be brought to trial." But in most apartments "you will find dozens and dozens of books. Soviet people read and read."

These first-hand observations for a leading capitalist newspaper are hardly confirmations of any interest of the Soviet leaders in "world conquest" or "attacking us" or any such drivel. There's not a nation in the world but would be relieved if such observations could be reported of the U.S.!

W. R.

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"No, darling! Aunty's already told you that she'll explain all about poor granny when you're a little older!"

Smog

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Smog is caused by burning fat cigars?
Smog's produced by gas from kiddy cars?
Steam from hot-dogs blurs the sunny skies?
Smoke from herring blinds the public's eyes?
Oil refin'ries blow the fog away?
Clouds of gas cause rainbows every day?
Breathing fumes is healthful, though you choke?
Smog's not really smog at all, it's holy smoke?

V.M.S.

On Robert Briscoe

DETROIT, MICH.

In your July 23 issue under the head "Vin Spoke Briefly," there is a reference from the Marin County (Calif.) **Daily Independent** to a speech by Vincent Hallinan in which he "termed the recent election of Robert Briscoe, a Jew, as Lord Mayor of Dublin, as revolutionary as naming longshoreman Harry Bridges to head the Republican ticket."

I would like to put Hallinan and your readers straight on this "revolutionary" news item from Dublin. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, or the Mayor of any other Irish or British city, is not elected by popular vote. In most cases they are elected by the City Council. In the case of Dublin, the Mayor's office is rotative according to seniority.

Robert Briscoe is a member of the Dail, or Irish Parliament, for a Dublin constituency in which most of Ireland's Jewish population resides, and which votes for him at elections. He also receives the votes of several thousand Catholics who are followers of Fianna Fail, on whose ticket he runs and of which he is a member and a very popular one. (He fought with the IRA against the British in Ireland's fight for freedom.) He has also served for many years on the Dublin City Council, representing the same constituency referred to above, for so long, in fact, that he automatically became Mayor for this year for a one year term. He is a member of a party whose adherents vote for him in City Council and Dail without regard for his religious beliefs.

According to the rules, because of his years of service in the Dublin City Council, he was entitled to the office of Mayor, and he got it. Had Jim Larkin, the Catholic Socialist, lived long enough and served long enough in the Dublin City Council, he would have got it, too. But that would not have meant that Dublin or Ireland had gone Socialist.

(Rev.) Clarence E. Duffy

All in favor . . .

BARBERTON, O.

Let's have public talks on religion, for and against.

G. J. Greene

For practicing preachers

HERMOSA BEACH, CALIF.

I have never been what is called a "Christian" because I cannot flatter myself that I have adhered to the specific teaching supposedly laid down by Jesus, according to the Bible. These "Men of God" who sanctimoniously preach these teachings, yet can demean themselves to lend any sort of sanction to the crime of war and the hydrogen bomb, are beneath contempt in my opinion. Mark you, there are some who stand up to be counted for their principles and thus become targets of reaction, and for those I have a profound respect. May their tribe increase.

Kate C. Young.

Watch out!

TORONTO, CANADA

The end of wars is a million years away while people believe in greed and the rights of property over people. Personally I believe the bombs will drop in the near future and our worries will be over. We will get what we asked for.

P. J. Morris

Naturally

BELHAVEN, N. C.

Every working American has directly or indirectly contributed to the building of our industrial economy. General Motors, General Electric, Standard Oil, U.S. Steel, DuPont, Ford and all the other corporations were financed by profits extracted from the American pocketbook and were built by steel workers, railroad workers, miners, farmers, shopkeepers, cooks, street cleaners, garbage collectors and other assorted workers of America. The brains of administrators, financiers, engineers, accountants, stenographers and many others contributed to their organization and growth. Thus all of our great enterprises are the common creation and so are morally the common property of the American people. They should be, in fact as well as in morality, owned and managed as common property for the equal welfare of all the people.

The land, the natural resources of America, are the natural heritage, the common creation is the natural property and the equal enjoyment of their fruit is the natural right of the people.

Vernon Ward

Human rights

BRONX, N. Y.

Recently you had an article on the concentration camps in Greece. I had never dreamed of such a thing. I wrote to Premier Karamanlis and to the UN Commission on Human Rights. I have not heard from Karamanlis (and don't expect I will) but I did hear from the UN Commission. They sent me a copy of a resolution of the Economic and Social Council which states that the Commission on Human Rights "has no power to take any action in regard to any complaints corcerning human rights."

I knew this but I figured that the Commission could make recommendations to the General Assembly. It seems that all the Commssion can do is to draw up a list of complaints concerning human rights and, through the Secretary General, "furnish each member state concerned with a copy of any communication concerning human rights which refers explicitly to that State . . ."

I'm sure Greece will request a list of its violations of human rights and see about correcting them!!

Mrs. Julia Stack

A keen man

CAPETOWN, AFRICA

Events in Cyprus had drawn public interest toward the Grecian islands and so enabled me to have a letter published in the **Cape Argus,** which contained extracts of the information contained in the GUARDIAN on Greek political prisoners. I am a member of the Cape Town Peace Council, Cape Town correspondent of the General Welfare movement. I am in my 81st year, with a background of 61 years membership in the Amalgamated Engineering Union. My work has taken me to 38 countries and I am keen on world friendship.

Charles B. Mussared

Fashions in China

TIENTSIN, CHINA

Our city of Tientsin entered the Socialist system of economy this past winter. So now all shops are either state-owned or else joint public-private enterprises. And this change came about at the request of the private owners and managers themselves who wanted the benefits of state cooperation.

As a woman, I should tell you something of the new fashions here. The trend is away from the blue uniform for everybody and toward colorful and distinctively cut dresses and tailored suits for women. Also gay and practical kiddies' togs. Becoming hair styles are popularized and new fashions in shoes, some with graceful high heels! Local papers have been using cartoons to ridicule the situation where all the members of the family can exchange uniforms without making much difference, while at the same time suggesting new styles.

Betty Chandler Chang

Good wishes

PITTSBURGH, PA.

The GUARDIAN's contribution to the fight for civil rights and liberties cannot be measured in money; nevertheless we know full well how funds are needed.

We herewith renew our sub and enclose a contribution of $10. We wish it could be more. Good wishes in the new surroundings; your old spirit and your old fight will certainly continue there.

Miriam Schultz
Committee to End Sedition Laws

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

STOCKHOLM, June 15—(A.P.)—A Swedish veteran of four Olympics took the lead today for the Grand Prix dressage gold medal. Maj. Goesta Boltenstern took his chestnut gelding through the intricate paces to score 794.

In second place was Miss Hannelore Weygand of Duesseldorf, Germany, riding Perkonus, a refugee horse from Communist East Germany.

Seattle (Wash.) **Times,** 6/15

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Bill Bailey, San Francisco, Calif. Be sure to enclose original clipping.

A LAWYER LOOKS AT THE RECORD

'Was Justice Done?'—Prof. Sharp's book on the Rosenbergs

By John T. McManus

MALCOLM P. SHARP, professor of law at the Univ. of Chicago and perhaps familiar to many millions of mature Americans as a frequent participant in the old Univ. of Chicago Round Table radio discussions, stated publicly in May, 1953, that he thought Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were entitled to a new trial. Among the considerations leading to this conviction was the GUARDIAN's discovery and presentation in April, 1953, of the console table which figured so heavily in the Rosenbergs' conviction—although it was never produced at their trial in 1951.

At the invitation of the late Emanuel H. Bloch, Prof. Sharp joined the defense in the last three weeks before the Rosenbergs were executed in June, 1953. During that period of tragic culmination of the worldwide efforts for reconsideration, clemency or reprieve, Prof. Sharp "worked closely with counsel for the Rosenbergs, along with other volunteers, devoted people, ready to work all night at humble jobs of typing and other routine duties. As a result of this close association," he writes in his book **Was Justice Done?,*** I gradually reversed some of my earlier opinions of the case.

"Whereas formerly I had merely criticized the sentence, I now came to believe in the innocence of the Rosenbergs."

INCISIVE PROBING: The Sharp book is not, however, a memoir of that brief association, except in parts of two of its 17 chapters. Rather it is a scholarly and incisive examination of the trial record, of the conduct of judge and prosecution and the testimony and behavior of the alleged accomplices on whose word the Rosenbergs were put to death and scientist Morton Sobell sent to Alcatraz to serve a 30-year sentence.

In this respect Prof. Sharp's book most closely resembles Earl Jowitt's book, **The Strange Case of Alger Hiss**, and perhaps should, as Prof. Sharp himself concedes after 100 pages of legal dissection, be read with the trial record in hand. Whether or not this is possible for every potential reader of the book, it seems that, at the very least, those now working for justice for Morton Sobell should see to it that Prof. Sharp's arguments be considered by every lawyer and legal expert likely to add a voice to the Sobell appeal. For, as Prof. Sharp says in his preface: "The most serious remediable result of the case today is the imprisonment of Morton Sobell in Alcatraz under a 30-year sentence."

Prof. Sharp wrote his book in the fall of 1953, while Bloch was still alive. During that period he accepted with Bloch, authors Shirley Graham and Yuri Suhl and GUARDIAN Editor James Aronson, trusteeship of the fund raised by Bloch and others for the orphaned Rosenberg sons. It was still unpublished when William A. Reuben's **The Atom Spy Hoax** and John Wexley's **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** appeared in early 1955.

A "LOST STORY": Prof. Sharp reviewed both books for the **Monthly Review** in Dec., 1955, recommended both, but "on the information available to me" decided to stick to the theories developed in his own book.

This may be both a strength and a weakness in ultimate consideration of the Sharp thesis. By setting aside the independent findings of Reuben and Wexley, Prof. Sharp avoids countenancing the possibilities of outright perjury and frameup (although he concedes that gaps in the testimony indicate a "lost story" somewhere). This circumspection may win readers not ready to accept the bitter conclusion that their government would indulge in frameup, but it amounts to doing things the hard way in the face of the strongest sort of evidence leading to the frameup conclusion.

The Rosenberg defense at the trial accepted the government charge that an espionage arrangement existed in 1944-45 between David Greenglass, Rosenberg's brother-in-law; Harry Gold, a self-styled spy courier; and Anatol Yakovlev, a Soviet diplomat who returned to his country in 1946. The defense contention was that Greenglass and his wife made the Rosenbergs scapegoats to save themselves when accused by Harry Gold. Gold was supposed to have been named as the courier by Klaus Fuchs, German-born atomic scientist who in 1950 confessed in England to espionage.

THE DISCREPANCIES: But Reuben showed by the prosecution's own statements that Gold was arrested prior to any alleged identification by Fuchs; and both Reuben and Wexley brought to light the fact that Fuchs could not describe Gold, nor identify him when confronted with photographs. Furthermore, Fuchs' official indictment, while mentioning several alleged rendezvous with spy couriers, did not include Santa Fe, where he is alleged to have met Gold.

Further, both Reuben and Wexley demonstrated that Gold's alleged meeting with the Greenglasses in Albuquerque could not have taken place in the manner testified to. Their respective stories were garbled and at wide variance.

WHAT BLOCH SAID: This material and much more, all leading to the conviction that the Gold-Greenglass story was completely rigged, cannot be completely laid aside without refutation. Even Bloch himself, although he defended the case on the thesis Sharp still accepts, recognized the implications of the new findings and said to Wexley after the execution:

MALCOLM P. SHARP
The record was clear

"How could I dream that officials in the Dept. of Justice would lend themselves to the perpetuation of a complete hoax concocted by this weird character, Gold?

"I suppose that was my biggest mistake—having those illusions, underestimating the cynicism and power for evil in high places."

Perhaps as an attorney and "officer of the court," Sharp, like Bloch, cannot permit himself to countenance the possibility of known and induced perjury and frameup, even though his own analysis of the testimony leads directly to this and no other plausible answer.

THE CONCLUSIONS: However, although restricting itself to the trial record, **Was Justice Done?** arrives at the most important conclusions: (1) that Federal court proceedings warrant an overhauling, especially with respect to the weight given accomplice testimony; (2) that Morton Sobell should be removed from Alcatraz and given a new trial, if not freed.

These viewpoints, so ably argued, should cause a long-delayed reappraisal in the legal profession—if not more widely—of the probity of the Rosenberg-Sobell proceedings.

Was Justice Done? has an introduction by Nobel Prize scientist Harold C. Urey, who also is convinced of the innocence of Sobell and the Rosenbergs. Like Sharp, Urey clings to the original contention of a spy arrangement including Gold, the Greenglasses and Yakovlev. But he demonstrates by argument and diagram that the Rosenbergs could have played no necessary part in such an arrangement and were indeed innocent scapegoats, enabling the real participants to go free or get off with lighter sentences.

VALUABLE APPENDIX: An appendix contains two memoranda from the files of Greenglass attorney O. John Rogge, in which David Greenglass makes statements at variance with his trial testimony; an interrogation of Greenglass in 1953 by Sen. McCarthy and Roy Cohn at Lewisburg Penitentiary, in which Greenglass attempts to link Rosenberg with espionage activities at Fort Monmouth (and which Prof. Sharp sees as further evidence of Greenglass' unreliability as a witness); and Sharp's own review of the Reuben and Wexley books.

Was Justice Done? has a chronology of the case at the start, but no index. This lack makes it difficult to use the book for reference unless one digests it most thoroughly. The discussion of the console table, for example, covers some 23 pages in two widely separated chapters, surely for most lay readers the most convincing portions of the book. Ready access to Prof. Sharp's various lines of inquiry is unfortunately not provided by the table of contents. Nevertheless those who have followed the Rosenberg case closely will find Prof. Sharp's work a masterly analysis of injustice at work.

**WAS JUSTICE DONE, the Rosenberg-Sobell Case; by Malcolm P. Sharp; introduction by Harold C. Urey; 216 pp. Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14. $3.50.*

JIMCROW WITH A SMILE

2 Negro drivers on Tallahassee buses but boycott holds despite intimidation

By Eugene Gordon

WHEN TALLAHASSEE'S 14,000 Negroes started their stay-off-the-buses protest last May 26 their leaders told the transit company it could earn their nickels and dimes again by (1) having its bus drivers show courtesy to Negro riders; (2) seating Negro and white passengers on a first-come, first-served basis, (3) by putting Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes. The Inter-Civic Council, formed to conduct the protest, said the company, through its drivers, had subjected Negroes—including ministers of the gospel and mothers with children—to "humiliating, embarrassing, degrading" treatment. An aged Negro woman or a cripple must stand so that even a white child may sit. Arrest of two women college students for taking bus seats beside a white woman finally exploded into the so-called boycott.

WALK IN DIGNITY: The Inter-Civic Council at the end of a month had amassed nearly 80 cars and station wagons in an anti-bus pool. But its drivers were being arrested or harassed for violations previously ignored. The City Commission said it wanted to settle the dispute, but pointedly ignored elected ICC leaders. It tried to "negotiate" with selected Negroes who, ICC said, had "received some personal favors from certain whites."

Editorials and articles in the white press called the ICC unrepresentative. ICC in a full-page ad on June 20 exposed the whole business; in addition it urged Negroes to register to vote. ICC president Rev. C. K. Steele said: "We'd rather walk in dignity than ride in humiliation"; that became a popular slogan. Then, suddenly, operators began reporting ICC phones "temporarily disconnected" or "out of order" at periods when calls were usually heaviest. Even as the Negroes were discussing a civil disobedience campaign, the company on July 1 announced it was suspending operation.

DISGUSTED: This was a confession that the bus line would go bankrupt without the Negro riders' 70%-75% contribution to its nearly $180,000 annual income and it spurred some officials to unusual action. The mayor, for instance—according to the ICC daily record—"encouraged the board of control to exert its influence by curbing participation of Florida A and M University professors and their wives in the 'boycott'." ICC commented:

"Many think this is just another threat in an attempt to intimidate the Negro people. One man said:

'Instead of becoming intimidated I'm becoming disgusted. Not only am I now fighting for a fair deal on a bus, but I am also helping to ward off fascism. In a democratic country one should not be told where not to go, what not to say and what not to ride.' "

In mid-July city and company announced plans to get the buses rolling again by Aug. 1. Full-page ads promised free rides and free "refreshments" the first day. The city's law department discussed possible ordinances punishing car owners who gave free rides except to blood relatives.

NOT NEGRO VS WHITE: ICC cited evidence that Tallahasee wasn't rigidly divided into antagonistic camps of whites and blacks on the issues. White car owners stopped near acquaintances waiting for buses and invited them to ride. Youth groups from white churches invited an ICC leader to address a joint meeting on "The Minister's Role in the Bus Protest." ICC in another full-page ad reminded readers that "ordinances passed directed at Negroes could subsequently be used against whites as well."

Following the city attorney's charge of intimidation, a Negro mass meeting on Aug. 1 recommended "a law suit . . . to resolve the bus situation"; moved to "continue serving our members"; reaffirmed "the position that [ICC] try to find transportation for those who do not wish to ride in humiliation"; declared "we have never intimidated and we do not intend to intimidate"; demanded that the city attorney "prosecute commensurate with the offense committed" if he proved his charges.

STILL UNSATISFIED: When the buses began rolling again on Aug. 2, two of them had Negroes behind the wheel. Company officials seemed confident that they had killed two birds with one stone: Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes who, naturally, would show courtesy to Negro passengers. What more could the Inter-Civic Council want?

The Rev. Mr. Steele made quite clear what it wanted:

"The crux of the problem is around the seating arrangements for the passengers on the bus, and, so far, that seating arrangement remains as before. Certainly we would not be willing to settle for the jobs of a few while the many still ride in humiliation and segregation. Our people voted that they will not be herded like cattle to the rear of the bus, even though it be driven by smiling Negro drivers."

The Inter-Civic Council, Inc. "diary", 803 Floral St., Tallahassee, Fla., is available to persons who want continuing information on the protest.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY NARROWS

What's happening on the Soviet farms?

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

SPECULATION set off by the Soviet Communist Party's attack on the "Stalin cult" last February has tended to obscure what is perhaps the most exciting development in the U.S.S.R. today: the gains made in the countryside as the result of the new agricultural program.

Everybody here is talking about the new collective farm "millionaires," and it isn't just talk. At a cotton farm, carved out of the arid Hungry Steppe in Uzbekistan, cash income soared from one million rubles in 1952 to 14 million last year. Profits of a group of six collective farms near Tashkent climbed steadily, if less spectacularly, from 51 million rubles in 1952 to 61 million in 1955. Even a small vegetable and livestock farm in the Moscow region (not noted for successful farming) chalked up a 17% increase in profits in the same period. For the U.S.S.R. as a whole, cash income of collective farms jumped from 42.8 billion rubles in 1952 to 75.6 in 1955.

MORE PRODUCTION: Increased income represents increased production. At five huge farms in the Alma Ata region, the volume of milk and of meat production has risen 200% since 1953; wool and sugar beets 150%. Land sown to grain increased 200%. In the U.S.S.R. as a whole, meat production has risen 22% since 1952; milk, 17%; wool, 16%; and eggs, 25%.

The new agricultural program was formulated in a series of decrees since the September, 1953, plenum of the Party's Central Committee. "These decrees," said the director of a Machine Tractor Station near Alma Ata, "were historic. Their effect is difficult to estimate."

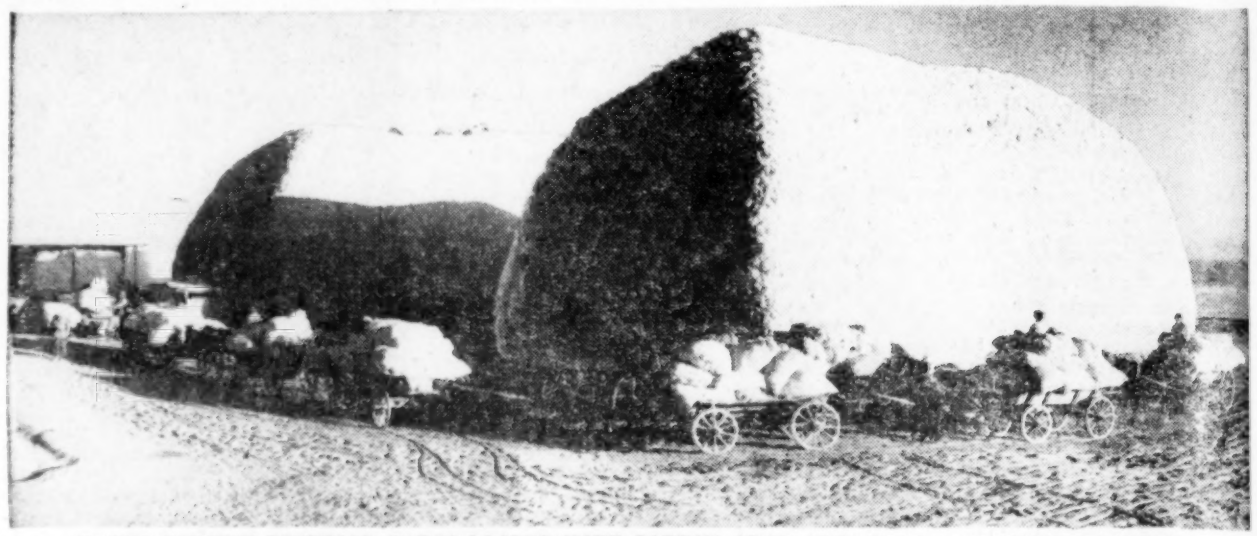
Formerly at the Scientific Research Institute in Alma Ata, this MTS director is one of the specialists sent into agriculture under the new program. At almost any collective or state farm or MTS nowadays you will find experts who have arrived in the last 2½ years from similar institutes in the cities. Strengthening of agricultural training groups was one of the first steps in the new program.

ALL EXPENSES PAID: This involved sending experts into agriculture and reorganizing the training of technical cadres on the farms. In place of the former three-month courses to acquaint agricultural workers with modern techniques, the Ministry of Culture now gives six-month courses, plus one- and two-year preparatory courses. The government pays all the fees and provides even shoes and clothing free. Experienced workers without higher education are urged to attend two-year higher technical schools. Compulsory ten-year schooling is being introduced as rapidly as possible. Each MTS serves a group of farms. Formerly, MTS workers were collective farmers who worked at MTS seasonally, and were paid by the collective farms. Now they are permanent employees of the state, from which they receive a guaranteed minimum salary. They are also paid for "work day units" by the collective farms. As a result, their salaries jumped from 300-350 rubles a month to 850-1,250 in cash alone (some "units" are paid in produce.)

An important change was the 1955 decision to let collective farms do their own planning. Formerly, plans came down from the top: the all-Union government made plans for the Republics; the Republics for the regions; the regions for the small districts; the districts for the MTS; and the MTS for the collective farms. Now the process starts at the bottom: the plans of the collective farms become the basis for the plans of the MTS, and so on up.

FEW RESTRICTIONS: The only requirements on the collective farm are that it base estimates of gross output on yields of former years and maintain the amount of obligatory deliveries to the state. So long as it fulfills the commitment to the state, it can grow whatever is most profitable; therefore there is an incentive to increase output. The farm can now sell whenever and wherever it wants—to the state or the free market. The former is often the most profitable.

A continuing drive for ever-greater mechanization is the key to the new policy. Collective farms seem to be introducing new techniques widely—including those brought back by the Soviet farm delegation from the U.S. In some cases, MTS experts claimed, U.S. techniques had already been improved upon. New machines are coming into use and others are being tested at the U.S.S.R.'s 20 Experimental Machine Stations set up after 1948. There is one for each big agricultural zone.



IN THE TADZHIK REPUBLIC: CARTS LOADED WITH COTTON CROP ARRIVE AT A STORING STATION

MORE KINDS OF MACHINES: The practice of making one type of tractor or harvester combine for the entire country, without regard for the specific features of the individual area, has been abandoned. Machines are now designed for specific areas. Before production they are tested by the machine stations, and the stations supervise production. The work of these stations has greatly increased. The types of machines tested at the station in Uzbekistan, for example, jumped from 35-40 in 1951 to 115-120 in 1953. A recent Moscow conference gave the green light to create more than a thousand types of machines. The target date for the solution of the complex mechanization problem is 1960.

To induce farms to produce more, agricultural prices were raised. And, in the case of potatoes, vegetables, milk and some other products, the amount of obligatory deliveries to the state was cut. If, for example, a farm formerly had to deliver 300 tons of potatoes, today it is only 12. The proportionate reduction was much the same for milk and other vegetables. But for grain and many other products the reduction, if any, was small. The big change came rather in the payment for the work of the MTS. Formerly this was based on the total production of the individual farm: the more production, the greater the sum paid. Now there is a fixed payment based on the kind of work performed.

Under the new program the difference between town and countryside is being narrowed. Collective farms are building apartment houses and installing central heating and (where they did not exist before) electricity, running water and sewage systems, and telephone and radio centers. Some are putting in toilets and showers, and some are already operating their own factories (clothing and household goods).

With the big increase in state credits for construction work, the farms have built or are building their own nurseries and schools, camps and clubs, hospitals, outpatient clinics (maintained on distant regions of the farms), maternity hospitals and clinics, theaters and movie houses, cultural centers—and even swimming pools and football stadiums. They are now beginning to open their own shops and—one of the biggest innovations—restaurants.

The progress is uneven and a constant stream of criticism is directed against the many farms which seem to be lagging. But the changes are impressive.

PEOPLE ON THE MOVE: Construction usually centers around the MTS with its building brigades, machine shops, etc. The MTS are thus becoming "small industrial centers leaning in the direction of agriculture," as one director put it. And the composition of the farm population is inevitably changing.

Progress in mechanization means release of farm workers either for expanding or diversifying the farm or for other jobs. Some go to the cities to work; others take jobs in factories on the collective farms, or in its hospitals, libraries and schools. Some are sent by the farm to study to become teachers, doctors or specialists who may return to the farm. Others join the MTS construction brigades.

This movement of people contributes to breaking down the differences between town and country. The implications of this change in Soviet society are great.

Hitherto the movement was from countryside to city—particularly strong just after World War II. There was a tendency to look down on those who stayed down on the farm. There was backwardness in the rural areas and chauvinism.

SOME QUESTIONS: Now a new level of development is being reached in the farm areas. Could this level have been reached sooner? What are the "serious mistakes" Stalin is charged with having committed in agricultural policy? What does the "cult" have to do with all this?

If you put the first question to the farmers you get a variety of answers. But not one whom I asked mentioned Stalin or the cult. The most frequent answer was that because of the war's devastation and the great demands of reconstruction, resources (money and cadres) had not earlier been available. When it was pointed out that Party leaders accuse Stalin of "serious mistakes" in agriculture, the reply was likely to be a perfunctory: "That's true, we mustn't forget that."

R. A. Karpascheff, head of the Agriculture Ministry's Dept. of Planning, was more precise. Under Stalin, he said, two main mistakes had been made. One was that centralization had lasted too long. Centralization was necessary, he said, in the organization and early development of collective farms. But "we could have got rid of it sooner, probably sometime in the early years after the war." Local initiative was thus hindered, he said, even suppressed; planning in Moscow suffered badly from ignorance of local conditions and needs.

NEW PRICE POLICY: The second mistake was on prices. These were fixed without relation to cost of production. Generally, they were too low to provide an incentive.

The total gross production of collective farms goes to the state through several channels: (1) obligatory deliveries at fixed prices; (2) payment in kind for the work of the MTS; (3) purchase by the state of agricultural products on the so-called "free market". Prices in (1) and (3) have been increased —often substantially; state purchases are handled now by the MTS.

Results of the new price program are impressive. The delivery price on sugar beets, for example, was increased from 14 to 20 rubles hundredweight. Land sown to sugar beets thereafter grew by some 1,000,000 acres; the supply of sugar beets, formerly short, is now sufficient for all purposes. Vegetables and potato prices were also raised: for potatoes, from 67 to 300 rubles a ton. The Ministry of Agriculture says the Moscow area now has a surplus of vegetables which it is finding difficulty in distributing; people generally have not yet been induced to eat less bread and more vegetables.

NEEDS OF INDUSTRY: Karpascheff emphasized that there had been no change in basic policy after 1953: "Our policy did have some defects and we are trying to remove them." Could the changes have been made sooner? The mistakes should certainly have been corrected sooner, he said, "but we always faced the opposition of the engineers who wanted to invest in industrial development."

Soviet policy has always been to give priority to industrial development and, after World War II, reconstruction of industry and its development again had to take first place. Three wars in one generation, he said, had been a major factor in the lag in agriculture. It was not until 1953 that resources on a large scale could be turned over to it.

The effect of the Stalin cult on agricultural development was, it would appear, to hold back overdue changes. But the big change—large scale investment of money and cadres in agriculture—was possible only when a certain level of industrial development had been reached.

Since 1953, Karpascheff said, the main goals have been: (1) heavy mechanization of agricultural processes so that we may "harvest our crops in 10 days and sow them in five"; (2) increased acreage for grain crops by opening up virgin lands; (3) new varieties of grain crops, including corn, to provide a stable fodder base and overcome backwardness in animal husbandry; (4) increased application of fertilizer and increased use of chemical products to control weeds and pests.

Gains already made since 1953 seem to assure that these goals will be achieved.

THE NATIONAL FEELING IS STRONG—BUT THE LOYALTY IS TOO

An on-the-spot report on life in the Baltic republics

By Cedric Belfrage

VILNA, LITHUANIA

DURING THE STALIN ERA, for reasons which do not seem to have been good from any standpoint, the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia (pop. 2, 3 and 1 million respectively) were closed to Western journalists. Today tourists or even military attaches with a spare hour between planes at Latvia's Riga or Lithuania's Vilna are implored to take a bus-ride around town. With a British party I have just ended a week's visit to these cities, and I am now trying to get over the effects of Baltic hospitality.

The U.S. has never recognized these countries as Soviet republics, and ghostly "ambassadors" in Washington continue to feed the press with stories about their enslavement and Russification. These stories credit Moscow with deporting multitudes of Latvians and Lithuanians to Russia—first during the revolutionary upsurge after World War I, before Western-sponsored bourgeois governments (later, pro-German fascist dictatorships) took over; then in 1940-41, when the Baltic states briefly became Soviet republics; and finally after that status was made permanent on the flight of the Nazi occupiers.

BALTIC VERSION: The version you get hereabouts is that when the bourgeois regimes were set up, 1/5 of Latvia's and a large segment of Lithuania's populations retreated into Russia in the hope of later returning to socialized homelands; and that in 1940-41 there was "much too humane" treatment of key people in the bourgeois regimes, many of whom became Nazi collaborationists. (Many others, however, still live undisturbed in Riga and Vilna.)

As for deportations during the post-war Stalin period, I can see no evidence that they have been any greater than in other parts of the U.S.S.R.; but whatever the extent of them, if they were motivated by any desire to Russify they have failed dismally. Here as in Russia one meets people, now in prominent positions, who have returned "rehabilitated" from long spells in Siberia: they are mainly Communists who were charged with "premature co-existentialism" or some other ideological deviation. But for a newcomer it is hard to imagine Latvia and Lithuania ever being more fiercely Latvian and Lithuanian than they are now.

A DIFFERENT FEELING: In street signs, schools, courts, radio and the theater the republics' languages are used, and out of several hundred publications there are perhaps half a dozen in Russian or Polish. (In the Vilna area, seized by Poland after World War I, there are some Polish schools—not only for Polish children, but for children of Lithuanian parents whose education was forcibly Polonized and who can't speak their own language.) Most of the scores of people I have met can speak Russian but do so only when they must to make themselves understood. Riga and Vilna have markedly different characteristics from Russian cities and the unanimous feeling is: "Vive la différence!" Riga's women, for example, pride themselves on their tradition of elegance in dress, and their city publishes a fashion magazine with cut-out patterns which are widely—but not too successfully—studied by Russian women. Both cities have individual and distinguished architectural styles, especially manifested in their churches (mainly Lutheran in Latvia, Catholic in Lithuania). The care and expense lavished on keeping these churches—many of them badly damaged in the war—in perfect condition seem almost excessive in view of the housing need.

Local government is run by Latvians and Lithuanians on all levels. In factory management some Russians are found, but they do not seem to predominate, and among the top people I met were Armenians and Georgians—people of various Soviet nationalities who were fighting hereabouts at the war's end and stayed on. In a Riga factory making quality candy for the whole U.S.S.R., where the staff staged a concert for its British guests in the presence of the Russian director, the mistress of ceremonies pointedly called for "friendship between the English and Latvian peoples."

NATIONAL PRIDE: Centuries of persecution by Tsars, Poles and Germans have only deepened these peoples' nationalism, and their enthusiasm for their present status clearly depends on the extent that they are given their heads within the Soviet family. This national pride is not only in their cultural survival but in their indigenous revolutionary history, which Latvian and Lithuanian Communists take pains to expound as they escort you round their revolutionary museums. They co-operated with Russia's Bolsheviks to overthrow Tsarism which oppressed them all, but they ran their own show and pay homage to their own heroes.

Latvia's Communist Party newspaper claims to have been the first ever published, starting in 1904 just before **Humanité**. Lithuania is especially proud of its native underground movement operating throughout the between-wars Smetona dictatorship, with its newspaper printed (as a model in Vilna's museum shows) in a cellar reachable only by diving through the oven of a kitchen stove. The museum's position of honor is occupied by a glass case containing prehistoric-looking pitchforks used against the local oppressors in 1918.

A GOLDEN IKON: In Lithuania the problem of winning the people for the Soviet partnership is not eased by the predominance of Catholicism. In Vilna's churches young people line up to confess to a priest, while outside restoration work is being done by government workers. In one "sacred" street containing a golden ikon of the Virgin in a window, one sees people kneeling in prayer and crossing themselves with holy water dipped from fonts fastened to the walls. The Catholics' attitude toward the regime is less hostile than it might have been but for the experience of the war, when the Nazis' relentless persecutions and bestialities brought some measure of Catholic-Communist co-operation against the representatives of "Western civilization." Priests won Communist respect by helping Jews in face of the Gestapo. (The Nazis systematically slaughtered almost all Jews, but today there is a 25,000-strong community of Jews who escaped and returned.) Even during the Smetona dictatorship Catholics helped the Communist underground.

Latvia and Lithuania fly their own versions of the red flag and play their own national anthems. If restraints are placed on their culture, I have been unable to detect them. Riga bookstores, crowded as throughout the U.S.S.R., feature native works and Latvian translation from Russian and other tongues including books by Carlzs Dikenss and Fildings, Markss and Engelss. Infant movie industries are in development although films in languages spoken by so few people can hardly be profitable. Five of Riga's six theaters play in Latvian; in its fine opera house I saw a ballet on a native pre-Christian theme in a National Day concert, and heard a first-class performance of **Tosca**. (Translation of the liquid Italian into Latvian, in which all masculine nouns end in "s", produces an odd effect—odder yet when the prima donna lisped, a habit I was told she recently conquered.)

IN THE LATVIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC
Students in the library of the Buldur Agricultural College

ACADEMY OF SCIENCE: Most remarkable development under the Soviet regime is Riga's Academy of Science, with its own publishing house and a 30-million-ruble annual budget. It employs 500 people, mostly Latvians, compiling historical, geographical and folk works and researching in everything from microbiology to atomic physics. One of its presidium members, a Stalin Prize winner and Order of Lenin man, was twice a minister in the bourgeois government. Most of the others (one had been the first president of Latvia's Supreme Soviet) were professors in bourgeois Latvia. The sages all nodded hearty agreement with their chairman who said to us: "We were not reluctant to co-operate with the Soviet government."

Many people are nevertheless not satisfied with the present setup, and show little hesitation in saying so. A portfolio-carrying woman artist recognizing me as a foreigner came up to me on a Riga street, and, while my Moscow interpreter stood by, implied in hesitant English and with averted eyes that she felt enslaved. When I offered her a picture postcard of London's Tower Bridge she put out her hand and then withdrew it, murmuring: "We are not allowed to have it." (In the train the previous day two Soviet army men, an Esthonian and a Ukrainian, to whom I offered these souvenirs practically embraced me in their joy, and insisted that I autograph them with a message from the British to the Soviet people.)

PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE: A collective-farm woman whom I asked if things were better than before said cautiously after a pause: "Yes, a little," but added that there were some things she liked about the bourgeois regime. Other farmers said the improvement of conditions had been spectacular in the past year. I asked a woman in the candy factory, who chatted with me in a large group of fellow-workers, if she felt free. She said:

"No, I can't say that. Today we can't speak our minds freely, although it's better. But we are a small country and could not survive except under the protection of a big power. We have had experience of being under Western protection. The only possibility for us is to be a Soviet republic. In any case our economy has been part of the Russian orbit for generations and can only stagnate in the Western orbit, as it did before the war."

These three women all spoke German or English; my Russian is too limited to permit me such conversations in that language. In other talks with people who were critical in one way or another (I exclude the many who were not), the attitudes were far more positive. My impression, for what it is worth, is that those who feel constraints on personal and/or national freedom are people who don't yet appreciate how far the fears of the Stalin era have become groundless.

BEST TESTIMONIAL: What is the balance-sheet for these small republics as most citizens seem to see it? First, that under the Soviet regime they have survived and are increasingly asserting themselves as nations. Second, that thanks to the U.S.S.R.—and they are deeply grateful—the war's havoc to their countries has been repaired, and the basis of industrialized prosperity laid, to an extent that would have been inconceivable without that help. Life under "independent" bourgeois-fascist regimes was undoubtedly good for some, but Latvia and Lithuania were degenerating before the war into colonial-type, agricultural appendages of the West.

Today's best testimonials to the benefits of membership in the Soviet family are the countless thousands of tanned, healthy worker and farmer families holiday-making at the Baltic beach resorts; and, in Riga, the enormous new market, crammed as far as the eye can see with farm produce with which the poorest are able to stuff their shopping-bags. For the masses of Latvians and Lithuanians factories going up or already humming, and farms benefitting from mechanization, point ahead with golden fingers. Of Latvia's output, 80% is now industrial compared with 36% in 1940.

THEIR OWN MASTERS: Chief basis of the reservations I heard is probably Moscow's overcentralization of industrial planning and of the legal system, which is now being recognized as radical decentralizing steps are taken. Now Latvia and Lithuania are running their own affairs far more than the Stalin era permitted; and I don't see what is going to stop their people from feeling completely free—except, of course, for those sad victims of every socialist revolution who cannot or will not adjust themselves to socialism.

Politics story

(Continued from Page 1)

to speak for it called the struggle "a battle of semantics." Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Wyo.) called it the "strongest plank ever written on civil rights". Paul A. Devers of Massachusetts fumbled meaningfully when he said it was "the strongest plank on civil defense." McCormack said: "I never sacrifice principle. I apply it to practical conditions."

THE TRUMAN SWITCH: Harry S. Truman then neatly crushed his own candidate's only hope by siding with the majority and thereby ruling out any real fight for civil rights. Convention chairman Sam Rayburn of Texas set his jaw firmly, called for a voice vote on the amendments. There were 2,744 delegates and 1,896 alternates. The ayes and noes roared confusedly from the floor. Unhesitatingly Rayburn found more noes than ayes and ruled the amendment defeated.

The standards of several states waved as delegates strove for the floor to ask for a roll-call. (Those backing the amendments had claimed 900 votes for a stiffer plank, far more than needed to carry it.) Rayburn looked through them, banged his gavel, called for a voice vote on the platform, this time finding more ayes than noes, gaveled down all protest.

Wall Street Journal

"I wish all the sponsors weren't so generous about giving up their time!"

Moderation had carried the day.

REBEL BANNERS: The Georgia delegates waved Confederate flags and Rayburn asked them not to flaunt them so noticeably in the face of the next speaker, 70-year old Rep. Dawson (Ill.), the only Negro speaker on the program, who talked in those early hours of Thursday morning as the amphitheatre emptied swiftly.

When the delegates met again after the binge, the Rev. C. Luther Cunningham of St. Paul's Baptist Church, a Negro pastor, delivered a pointed invocation: "To postpone justice is not responsible statesmanship." Most speakers maintained a discreet silence on the subject, though Georgia's Gov. Marvin Griffin called for curbing "the unbridled license of the Supreme Court" and warned that "bitterness and violence" were sure to come unless the South were allowed to continue the "only way of life possible for our two great races to live together."

Gov. Griffin made his pitch disguised as a nomination for an obscure Georgian named James Davis. But the sentiments stirred the Confederate flags to waving. A woman raised a placard reading: "Lord Save Us With James Davis."

COST OF ENTHUSIASM: The demonstration was lost in the larger and more expensive demonstrations of spontaneous support. Al Peters, a professional demonstrator and leader of a 20-piece band, told the N.Y. **Times** he charged $23 for each musician for three hours of demonstrating. He had demonstrated for MacArthur in 1952, was whooping it up for Harriman and expected to go on for Kefauver in the Vice-Presidential enthusiasm. Asked how he managed to work up the exuberance, Peters said simply: "It's the dollar that does it." Models, headgear and placards also come high. Harriman reportedly spent over $5,000 for his enthusiasm. It was not known how much Stevenson paid for his ovation which was a shade less fervent and presumably less expensive than Harriman's.

Stevenson's victory had been assured since the collapse of the civil rights fight. But the dagger dance continued. After his nomination Stevenson walked across the alley from the Stockyards Inn and called for an "open" convention on the Vice Presidency. The move served to dramatize the Republicans' weakness, pointing up the new importance of the Vice Presidency in view of the President's health and daring the Republicans to throw that race open.

But observers of the internal doings of the Democrats saw still another knife thrust. Stevenson in large part owed his nomination to Kefauver who had swung his considerable following over to Steven-

(Continued on Page 7)

INDIAN SUMMER FUN

Guardian Weekend at CHAITS

SEPTEMBER 21, 22, 23

FOOD, FUN, ENTERTAINMENT, SPORTS, COCKTAIL HOUR... and for discussion: JAMES ARONSON and KUMAR GOSHAL

$20 incl. transp.

For reservations write: 197 E. 4th St. or call Miss Peck, OR 3-3800

PUBLICATIONS

THE DEVIL IN THE BOOK

THE DEVIL IN THE BOOK

BY DALTON TRUMBO

Facts concerning the controversial Smith Act Trials, by the author of *Johnnie Got His Gun, Remarkable Andrew*, and screenplays *Kitty Foyle, Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo*, and *A Guy Named Joe.*

15c PER COPY • LESS IN QUANTITIES

C.E.D.C. PUBLISHERS • 323 S. WESTERN AVE. • LOS ANGELES 5, CALIF.

TURNING POINT

Pubilshed by the Communist League

KHRUSHCHEV'S UN-SECRET SPEECH

- On the Efficient Circulation of Secret Material
- The Eclectic Boomerang • Assertions as Facts
- The Latrine Rumor • The "Period Technique"
- History Edited • Khrushchev's Self-Portrait
- Supplement: Ex-Ambassador Davies on Stalin

15c from P. O. Box 24, Midtown Station, New York 18, N. Y. or at newsstand, southwest corner, 42nd St. and 6th Avenue

NEW FORMS FOR AMERICAN MARXISM?

People are discussing two exciting articles in the August

MASSES & MAINSTREAM

Simone de Beauvoir & Freedom by a leading progressive writer, "Timon."

Letter to a Communist by Milton Howard

Reviews of Nelson Algren, John Aldridge... also Howard Fast, Meridel Le Sueur.

35c a copy $4 a year

On sale at bookstores or at 832 Broadway, New York 3

Portrait of a People's Democracy

SPRINGTIME ON THE DANUBE

by Louis Villefosse

former Asst. Chief, Free French Navy, author, lecturer, traveler

and Janine Bouissounouse

author, correspondent, historian

$1.50 per copy

at booksellers or order directly from the publisher:

HUNGARIAN WORD, 130 E. 16th Street, N. Y. 3

PLAY GUITAR

OR YOUR MONEY BACK!

QUICKLY, EASILY you'll play "Joe Hill," "Irene," pop tunes, blues and folk songs with rich chord harmonies—even if you don't know a single note now! Send $3 for Guitar Method to LORRIE, 241 W. 108 St., N.Y. 25.

FREE! "Lift Every Voice! The 2nd People's Song Book"

(98pp.—Reg. $1.25)

IF YOU ACT NOW!

LOS ANGELES

PROGRESSIVE OPTICIANS

Rapid Service • Eyeglasses Repairs • Oculists' Prescriptions Carefully Fitted

WM. L. GOLTZ

6132 Wilshire Blvd.

Los Angeles WEbster 5-1107

HOMELINE FURNITURE & APPLIANCE CO.

All leading brands of Furniture, TV & Appliances

Best Quality — Lowest Prices

1959 Brooklyn Ave. AN 2-8134

Open evenings except Tues.

ATLAS OPTICAL CO.

M. Franklin (Maury) Mitchell

OPTICIAN

610 S. Broadway, Los Angeles

Suite 405 Vandike 3530

QUICK SERVICE—LOW PRICES

RESORTS

IN THE ADIRONDACKS

CRYSTAL LAKE LODGE

Crystal Lake Lodge presents

Crystal Lake PLAYHOUSE

and its repertory of new and exciting plays . . . . .

Orch. concerts, folk & social dancing nightly by the shore of moonlit Crystal Lake. Fishing, canoeing & boating. 9 championship clay tennis courts. All sports. 1500 woodland acres. Free weekend to tennis winners. — Write for brochure.

CHESTERTOWN 3, N. Y.

Chestertown 3830 • N.Y. OL 3-1884

WINGDALE on-the-Lake

(formerly Camp Unity)

FLASH! Open for fun, frolic and rest all year round.

LABOR DAY WEEKEND 3 days $25

ROSH HASHONAH 4 days $27

250 acres of fields and lakes. Comfortable cabins, some with facilities, all sports, including night softball diamond. Day camp with night patrol.

202 W. 40th St. CH 4-0723

Arrowhead Lodge

Ellenville, New York

RESERVE NOW FOR LABOR DAY and the JEWISH HOLIDAYS

Entertainment, Folk, Square and Social Dancing, Painting, Arts & Crafts, Clay Tennis Courts, Golf, Fishing, All Sports.

3 hours from N.Y.C. via Thruway

CH 2-2453 Ellenville 502

DETROIT

Cooperative, interracial

CAMP MIDVALE

Midvale, N. J.

Terhune 5-2160

Enjoy our famous pool. Activities. Entertainment. Holiday Meals (table service, of course.)

Take Advantage of this Special Holiday Weekend

(Wednesday supper, September 5 through Sunday dinner, September 10)

$21 for adults

$14 for children

RESERVE YOUR BEST ACCOMODATIONS NOW!

CAMP LAKELAND

on beautiful SYLVAN LAKE, 65 miles from New York City

SPECIAL HOLIDAY PROGRAM for LABOR DAY and ROSH HASHONAH featuring NADYNE BREWER and other guests

- Outstanding cultural program with Meyer and Luba Eisenberg, Teddy Schwartz, Tamara Bliss, Harvey Schreibman, Edith Segal, S. Yachnes.
- Comfortable and restful accomodations

Under the supervision of our new kitchen manager Gussie Berkowitz, all our guests are talking about our excellent cuisine.

Moderate Rates • Special Family Plan • Day Camp

Call AL 5-6283 or write 1 Union Sq. W., N. Y. C. 3

New York State's Newest Interracial Resort

Shagamau Lodge

Route 2, Springtown Rd. New Paltz, N. Y.

Year-round Resort • Hunting grounds • 60x30 Swimming Pool Nearby Golf Course • Free Golf Instruction • Patio Dancing Old Fashioned pit bar-b-que • Mineral Springs

Semi-private accommodations. 3 meals per day. Planned activities. Reasonable rates. We welcome groups, picnics and bus outings.

Ossie Mason, Mgr. Phone: Rosedale 2601

Directions: Exit 18 on New York Thruway, left on Main Street, across Walkall River bridge, sharp right to Springtown Road, 3 miles to Shagamau Lodge across Rail Road bridge.

Chaits

33rd Year

Accord 1, N. Y.

OPEN ALL YEAR!

"An intimate resort with 'Big' hotel facilities"

Beautiful new pool 100'x200'

- Complete Day Camp • All Sports
- Arts & Crafts • Cocktail Hour
- Folk & Square Dancing • Children's Wading Pool • Golf nearby

Feat.: Sylvia Kahn, concert soprano

Adults $38.50 up; Reserve now for Labor Day and Rosh Hashonah Phone: Kerhonkson 8316

VACATION PLUS at World Fellowship

Combine insight & recreation at our 300 acre forest - lake - mountain estate near Conway, N. H. For All faiths, races, colors, convictions.

Swimming, Fishing, Boating, Folk-Dancing, Excursions

Conferences on American Heritage, Religious & Civil Liberty, Peace, Desegregation, Labor, Cultures, Faiths of Different Peoples.

Generous family-style meals. Room & board $5 to $7 daily.

For full information address

WORLD FELLOWSHIP CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE

Politics story

(Continued from Page 6)

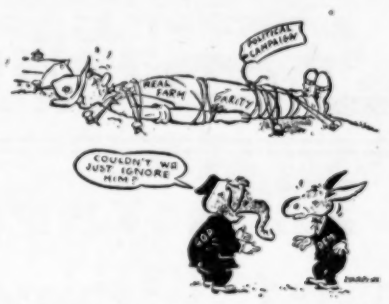
son. It was a political debt and Kefauver had indicated he wanted the Vice Presidency. A word from Stevenson would have done it. Many interpreted the "open" convention as an invitation to a stop-Kefauver movement.

BLESS 'EM ALL: One final dagger thrust was yet to come. On Thursday evening Averell Harriman and Estes Kefauver were brought together by Columbia Broadcasting commentator Walter Cronkite. The exchange went like this: Harriman: "You're a great fellow, Estes. I can't say too many nice things about you. Mary and I are fond of you and Nancy." Kefauver: "Bless you, Averell." Harriman: "Bless you, Estes." Kefauver: "And we shall walk together arm in arm, shan't we, Averell?"

On Friday Averell Harriman nominated Mayor Wagner for Vice-President, then on the second ballot turned New York's 98 votes to Kefauver's rival, the boyish Sen. John W. Kennedy of Massachusetts. Kennedy came within 50 votes of winning and had the Solid South lined up for him. At the last minute Sen. Gore, junior Senator of Tennessee, released his delegates to his fellow Tennessean and narrowly saved Kefauver from the final betrayal.

FINAL SCORE: At the finale Harriman, Kefauver, Stevenson and Truman posed on the platform in brotherly affection. Truman said the familiar words of encouragement but in the guest box Bess Truman looked tragic. Many thought of a franker era when Sen. David Bennett Hill of N.Y. was asked how he felt about the nomination of William Jennings Bryan in 1896 and answered: "I am a Democrat still—very still."

The final score showed the South appeased with a meaningless plank on civil rights, labor appeased with a pledge to repeal Taft-Hartley (though past pledges to amend it had produced no results).



Farmers Union Herald, St. Paul
Politics paralyze parity

On the ticket labor leaders had been divided. Steelworkers' Pres. David McDonald seconded Harriman's nomination and John L. Lewis backed him up. The United Auto Workers Pres. Walter Reuther lobbied energetically for Stevenson. Kefauver won with no emphatic help from any labor source. (The farm states were his stand-by.)

COW PALACE NEXT: The platform offered little new. Stevenson's acceptance speech offered no better clue to the directions of the Democratic Party except that under Stevenson it would not return to the New Deal, described as an era that had ended. Stevenson talked instead of a "new America . . . of the great ideals and noble visions which are the stuff our future must be made of."

The vision was non-controversial. There remained at the week-end only one hard point of difference with the Republicans. Richard Nixon could not possibly succeed Adlai Stevenson in the next four years.

The answer to that telling political argument would have to come from the Cow Palace in San Francisco.

CALENDAR

Altadena, Calif.

SWIM PARTY for the GUARDIAN
Sat., Sept. 22 noon-6 p.m. 2189 N. Altadena Dr. (formerly Foothill Blvd.) Suggested donation: adults, 75 cents; children, 40 cents. All welcome.

Chicago

Don't Miss
ANNA LOUISE STRONG!
Sat., Sept. 22. Information and tickets from Chicago Council American-Soviet Friendship, Suite 403, 189 W. Madison. Phone: AN 3-1877.

Detroit

LABOR DAY PICNIC (Mon., Sept. 3). Arcadia Pk., Wicks Rd. (right after parade) to aid the Michigan Smith Act defendants in their appeal to the Supreme Court. Main Speaker: HELEN WINTER. Food. Refreshments. Square Dancing. Ball Game. Bring the family. Adm. 50 cents, Unemployed free, kids, a dime.

Los Angeles

HOLD THE DATE!
SAT., NOV. 10 — PARK MANOR
6th Annual Testimonial Dinner honoring attorneys defending victims of McCarran-Walter Law. Auspices: L. A. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, 326 W. 3rd St., L. A. 13, Calif.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Ave.) **"THE WHOLE TOWN'S TALKING,"** Aug. 25. Under John Ford's deft direction, Edward G. Robinson and Jean Arthur show how a meek little man can become a lion. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10:00 p.m. Adm: Members $1.00; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **THE THIRTY-NINE STEPS.**

PAUL DRAPER DANCES
and
reader David Allen, balladeer Milt Okun
See display ad on this page.

Pacific Northwest

GUARDIAN FISH BARBECUE-PICNIC
Sun., Sept. 9 at 2 p.m. Featuring Carlos Montoya Flamenco Record. Morford Place, 2 miles north of Narrows Bridge, first turn to right after leaving bridge, then one mile north and follows signs. Excellent food, congenial company, quiet spot, new music to enjoy. Donation $1 incl. dinner.

CLASSIFIED

General

FOR THE BEST PHOTO WORK order Pal Jumbo Prints bound in plastic album, 8 exposure film, 40c; 12 exposure film, 65c. **PAL FILM SERVICE**, Blvd. P.O. Box 123 G, New York 59, N. Y.

Boston, Mass.

IN MEMORIAM

ABRAHAM KAPLAN

October 1886 — August 21, 1952

Resorts

CAMEO COUNTRY CLUB (formerly Eager-Rosegarden). Enjoy a wonderful vacation at inexpensive rates, eating your fill of wonderful food, swimming in our mt. pool and engaging in all the sports, stomping it out with our Square Dance, caller, dancing to Harry Lee's Orchestra-and listening to the lovely voice of **MARTHA SCHLAMME**, who is on our staff. Full program continues through Labor Day and Rosh Hashonah—so rush reservations for your whole family. Weingart-Pasternak mgt. Phone Monticello 571 or write The Cameo, Bushville Rd., Harris, N. Y.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N. Y.

WHITE MOUNTAINS—Swimming, hiking, fishing, country dances, mountain-climbing, touring. Good food, modern conveniences, reasonable rates. Children welcome. **OPEN ENTIRE MONTH OF SEPT.** For details write: Mrs. J. Timms, Box 135, Wentworth, N. H. Tel: Rockwell 8-2544.

PINE LAKE LODGE, Kenoza Lake, N. Y. An informal resort, ideal for young families. Private lake, swimming, boating, fishing, sports, children's program & counsellors. Hi-fi. Scrumptious food. Open until Sept. 9th. Make early reservation for Jewish Holidays. Adults $42. Children $20-25. Send for booklet, Jeffersonville 212R.

SPRING MT. HOUSE, Jeffersonville, N. Y. Restful, beautiful surroundings on farm. Chickens, goats, cows, etc. City improvements. Swimming on premises. Ping pong, hand ball, TV. Ideal for children. Rates $37 adults, children $19 up. Y. Schwartz. Phones: Jeffersonville 290, OL 5-6971 (NYC).

BRIEHL'S, Wallkill, Ulster County, N.Y. 85 miles from New York City. Scenic country. Homelike atmosphere. Private lake. Free boating, Swimming. Social-hall. Indoor-outdoor games. Wholesome food. $40 per week. Weekends $6.50 per day. Folder. Phone Wallkill 3-2214.

SUNSET HILL INN — 1782 — in lovely **WOODSTOCK, CONN.** Peaceful, restful, plus recreation. Boating, fishing, swimming, golf, tennis, square dances, auctions, outdoor roasts. Generous delicious meals. Weekends $15. Weekly $40. 3½ hours from Grand Central. Fri. 5 p.m. Phone: Walnut 8-7331.

HILLBERG FARM, Kerhonkson, N. Y. Tel.: Kerhonkson 8008 W. Open all year. $40 and $38 per week, $7.50 and $7 per day.

VEGETARIANS! Vacation at the **DAVID STRY GUEST RANCH**
MELBOURNE, FLORIDA
Finest fruits & vegetables, $35 per week, all exp. No dead animals, no smoking, no alcohol.

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

MERCHANDISE

ENGLISH BICYCLE with 3 speed gears, hand brakes, pump & tourist bag. **SPEC.** $39.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Ave. (13-14th Sts.) GR 3-7119. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens

LARRABEE SHOE CORP.
SAVE! 25% to 60% off **FAMOUS FACTORY SHOES** (men, women, children's.) Buy with confidence—money back in 7 days. 321 Church St., CA 6-9820. All subways to Canal St. station.

HI-FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPHS
Sales, Installation, Service
VECTOR LABORATORIES, 217 3rd Av., New York 3. GR 3-7686.

LARGE SAVINGS—Good, modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see. Special consideration to GUARDIAN readers. Open Sat. till 6.
SMILOW-THIELLE
New York: 856 Lex. Ave., MU 6-7308
White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Ave. WH 8-4788

save! FINE FURS save!
fur coats • jackets
capes • minks • stoles
Expert Remodeling and Repairing
Convert your old fur coat to a fur-lined cloth coat.
MAX KUPERMAN
315 7th Ave., OR 5-7773

POTTERY
OF ALL NATIONS
Largest selections of first, seconds and closeouts from the world's best sources. ⅓ to ¾ off list price. Dinnerware, flatware, crystal, pewter, casseroles and lots, lots more.
108 7th Av. So. WA. 9-2866
Daily 10-10 p.m. Sun. 1-6 p.m.

SERVICES

SOFA REWEBBED. Relined, Springs Retied in your home. Reasonable. Furniture Repaired, Reupholstered, Cushioning. Call mornings 9-1, HY 8-7887. Fraternal Attention. On vacation Aug. 15-Sept. 6th.

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET
MULTIGRAPHING,
MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL 5-8160

MOVING, STORAGE, EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS. Profit by my 20 yrs. experience. Call Ed Wendel, JE 6-8000 on any moving problem.

JIM'S EXPRESS
Young vet. Move inexpensively. $3.50 per hour per man or flat rate. New station wagon. 24 hr. service. Phone: SU 7-7378.

FREE LIFE INSURANCE ANALYSIS
Personal and business. Fire, health, accident, theft, etc., insurance placed.
RENE M. SCHENKER
420 Lex Av., N. Y. 17 MU 3-2837

CARL BRODSKY
INSURANCE
Automobile, Fire, Life, etc.
GR 5-3826
799 Broadway (Cor. 11th St.)

MARCEL PAINTING
Private homes, apartments, business premises. Reasonable. Anywhere in 5 boros. For estimates phone: Nunez, GR 7-7880.

WASHING MACHINE REPAIRS
Sales—New and used machines
Service for all types
Brooklyn GE 4-4228

CUSTOM BUILT
Cabinet-storage units, alterations for home, office, most reasonable.
STEIN INTERIORS
259 W. 19th St. CH 3-8325

NORMA CATERERS: Now booking that special occasion in temple, home, or office. Unusual plan for exceptionally large receptions. Hor D'Oeuvres, turkeys, meat trays, etc., delivered anywhere in metropolitan area. Tel.: ES 3-9490.

CUSTOM CABINET MAKERS
Design and Craftsmanship Choice of woods and finishes. Refinishing. HI-FI installations. Drawings, estimates free. **Beran-Orban,** 322 E. 23d. OR 4-6123.

BILL'S RADIO & TV SERVICE
Written Guarantees • Itemized Bills
Prompt • Reliable • Reasonable
252½ Bleecker St. WA 9-0813

BIG GEORGE'S MOVERS
Moving and light hauling
MOST REASONABLE
24 hour service
Phone: MO 3-4307

PIANO TUNING
Repairs
All work guaranteed
SULLY CHILDS
73 West 82d Et. TR 3-0698

PHOTOGRAPHY

LAWRENCE PHOTO
You name it
I'll photograph it
Walker 5-4156
12 p.m.-12 a.m.

APARTMENT WANTED

2 **L. A. VACATIONERS** want 2-3 room furnished apt. with shower, coffee pot and telephone for Sept. 21-Oct. 4. Prefer location just off 5th Av. mid-town or downtown. Write: E. Burkett, 1283 So. Redondo, L. A. 19, Calif.

FURNISHED ROOM FOR RENT

FOR WOMAN. 93 St. nr. C.P.W. Large, attractive, completely private with small family. Good transportation, elev. bldg. Call Mon.-Fri. after 6:30 p.m. RI 9-2848.

LOS ANGELES

You are cordially invited to attend the 6th of the GUARDIAN'S famous

Gourmet Garden Dinners

SAT., SEPT. 8 at 7:30 P. M.

at the home of Mr. & Mrs. George Willner
949 Schumacher Drive (La Cienga and Olympic)
ENTERTAINMENT, DANCING • $5 per person
Limited to 100 persons. Reservations must be made in advance. Phone We. 1-9478 or We. 6-5866.

NEW YORK

D-20
22" x 48"
WALNUT
59.95

prize modern
TRADEMARK
Designed for those with good taste and moderate budget—the light and airy scaling—the warm feeling of American walnut and fine craftsmanship apparent in every detail—for timeless beauty.
Available with formica top for today's carefree living—if desired.
Available in blonde birch.

smilow-thielle
NEW YORK: 856 LEXINGTON AVE. (Nr. 64 St.) MU 6-7308
WHITE PLAINS: 41 MAMARONECK AVE. WH 8-4788
FREE PARKING Open Thurs. 'til 9 p.m. • Sat. 'til 6 p.m.
Interior Design & Decorator Service Available

Catalogue on request, Enclose 50c.

LAST TWO TIMES
(Air conditioned) Carnegie Recital Wed. and Thurs., August 29, 30

PAUL DRAPER

Stars in an evening of theatre with reader David Allen, balladeer Milt Okun. Tickets $1.90, 2.50, 3 (Tax incl.) on sale at Audio Unlimited, 169 W. 57th St. (opp. Carnegie). Mail orders: Seaman, 516 5th Ave., N.Y. 36. Inf.: MU 2-6321

YOU HAVE A DATE!
SAT., SEPT. 22
Seamen's Defense Committee Fall Dance and Entertainment
Watch for details

FRANK GIARAMITA & SONS TRUCKING CORP
MOVING • STORAGE
EFFICIENT • RELIABLE
13 E. 7th St. near 3rd Av. **GR 7-2457**

CHICAGOANS
INSURE THAT MORTGAGE!
FULLY PAID IN CASE OF DEATH.
Installments paid when disabled
LOU BLUMBERG
166 W. Jackson Blvd. HA 7-5497
Fire, Auto & All Other Insurance

In loving memory of
ELLA MARSHAK
beloved GUARDIAN supporter
MANYA
RIVA
SONIA
GUSSIE
ANNA

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

Quality Flatware at Discount Prices!

STAINLESS STEEL FLATWARE from Holland

Many of our readers have asked us for quality stainless steel flatware handsome enough for special occasions but built for everyday use. We shopped all the domestic and foreign lines now flooding the market, but had to reject almost all. Some were handsome but poorly made or overpriced, others, sturdy but clumsy.

Finally we found the right set. We chose the winner of the Good Design Award of the Museum of Modern Art, Cora pattern by Sola of Holland.

This is unusually beautiful flatware: simple lines with exquisite satin finished handles and polished bowls and tines. Even more, it is well made of heavyweight stainless steel capable of withstanding abuse. It is the kind of set you can use every day and at special parties to decorate your table.

And the price is right—we are offering it at only $3.95 per five-piece place setting — 30% below list price—and we pay postage anywhere in the U. S.

Of course, this is offered with the standing G B S money-back guarantee.

5-PIECE SETTING

CORA pattern by SOLA

$3.95

Regularly $5.60

Distinguished continental design... smartly fashioned, modern as tomorrow . . . with satin-finished handles, polished bowls and tines. So right with every table setting — in contemporary, provincial, or traditional homes! You'll want this lovely CORA pattern for yourself, for gifts. See it — today.

20 pc. Service for 4 ..... $15.75
30 pc. Service for 6 ..... $23.50
40 pc. Service for 8 ..... $31.50

GOOD DESIGN

Good Design Award Museum of Modern Art

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL _____

No COD's Full payment must accompany each order. Make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone .... State.....

GUARDIAN ANGEL LOTION SHAMPOO

$1 ppd.

A handy plastic bottle containing 9-12 months supply of this private formula shampoo with a quality detergent base. No unnecessary ingredients. A small amount gives you a full lather.

UNCONDITIONALLY (fled urged

To Posterity

By Bertolt Brecht

Bertolt Brecht, one of the world's great dramatists, died in Berlin Aug. 14 of a heart attack at the age of 58. Poet, satirist and librettist, his major works were written to demonstrate the rottenness of war. With the late Kurt Weill, he wrote "The Three-Penny Opera" which, on the day he died, was playing its 474th performance in New York. A marked man, he fled Hitler's Germany to Switzerland and the U.S. where he lived for many years. The following poem (1947) seems a most appropriate epitaph for himself and his generation.

Indeed I live in the dark ages!
A guileless word is an absurdity. A smooth forehead betokens
A hard heart. He who laughs
Has not yet heard
The terrible tidings.

Ah, what an age it is
When to speak of trees is almost a crime
For it is a kind of silence about injustice!
And he who walks calmly across the street,
Is he not out of reach of his friends
In trouble?

It is true: I earn my living
But, believe me, it is only an accident.
Nothing that I do entitles me to eat my fill.
By chance I was spared. (If my luck leaves me
I am lost.)

They tell me: eat and drink. Be glad you have it!
But how can I eat and drink
When my food is snatched from the hungry
And my glass of water belongs to the thirsty?
And yet I eat and drink.

I would gladly be wise.
The old books tell us what wisdom is:
Avoid the strife of the world, live out your little time
Fearing no one,
Using no violence,
Return good for evil—
Not fulfillment of desire but forgetfulness
Passes for wisdom.
I can do none of this:
Indeed I live in the dark ages!

I came to the cities in a time of disorder
When hunger ruled.
I came among men in a time of uprising
And I revolted with them.
So the time passed away
Which on earth was given me.

I ate my food between massacres.
The shadow of murder lay upon my sleep.
And when I loved, I loved with indifference.
I looked upon my nature with impatience.
So the time passed away
Which on earth was given me.

In my time streets lead to the quicksand.
Speech betrayed me to the slaughterer.
There was little I could do. But without me
The rulers would have been more secure. This was my hope.
So the time passed away
Which on earth was given me.

Men's strength was little. The goal
Lay far in the distance,
Easy to see if for me
Scarcely attainable.
So the time passed away
Which on earth was given me.

You, who shall emerge from the flood
In which we are sinking,
Think—
When you speak of our weaknesses,
Also of the dark time
That brought them forth.
For we went, changing our country more often than our shoes,
In the class war, despairing
When there was only injustice and no resistance.

For we knew only too well:
Even the hatred of squalor
Makes the brow grow stern.
Even anger against injustice
Makes the voice grow harsh. Alas, we
Who wished to lay the foundations of kindness
Could not ourselves be kind.

But you, when at last it comes to pass
That man can help his fellow man,
Do not judge us
Too harshly.

Translated by H. R. Hays